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Humanity's Existence Is At Stake By Herbert Aptheker

Lessons for Israel By Meir Vilner

"Before Jackson There Was Nothing" By Michael Doran

The Prisoner At Ansar By Rachel Bernstein

Zionism, Zionists and the Holocaust By Lewis M. Moroze

Anti-Defamation League Defames Nicaragua

Mini Festival of Yiddish Theater By Judith Albert



"Let the Sons Return Home While Still Alive! Government of All this Horror—Resign!" Signed: A Father Will Never Forgive (Sign at Tel Aviv Demonstration)

A Trilogy By Susan Kling

Israel Flagrantly Violates International Law By Felicia Langer

Gus Hall and Angela Davis Candidacy **Energizes Oust Reagan Movements**

"Our Party refuses to accept the prospect of four more years of Reaganism, mainly because the world literally may not survive it," said Gus Hall, General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA in accepting the Communist Party's nomination for the 1984 Presidential election.

"No election portends greater possibilities for a new direction in domestic and foreign policy serving the interests of working people and world peace, or more Reaganite aggression, cutbacks, plant closings, racism and discrimination than the 1984 Presidential election." Hall told a special nominating conference. He is joined on the Communist ticket by Vice Presidential candidate. Black activist and educator Angela Davis.

Angela Davis, who is an author and instructor at San Francisco State University, is also co-chair of the National Alliance Against Racist and Political Repression.

"While embarking upon a massive campaign to destroy the civil and human rights of Black, Latino, Native American and Asian peoples in the U.S.," Davis said on accepting the nomination, "the Reagan Administration gives support to the South African racists in their war against the people of Angola."

Angela Davis accused the Reagan Administration of launching a "scorched earth economic and social policy, one that is leaving families, communities and whole regions destitute and desolate in its wake.

"While planning to wage, and in its mind win, a nuclear war with the Soviet Union, the Reagan Administration is now fighting a number of criminal and bloody 'little wars' - in Grenada, Nicaragua, El Salvador and Lebanon."

In his acceptance speech Hall made a devastating attack on both the "Democratic and Republican Party candidates (who) are competing to see who can make the biggest promises. They correctly accuse each other of having no intentions of keeping them. . . .

"The world is being propelled towards a nuclear doomsday by the deployment of Pershing, Cruise and MX nuclear missiles.

"The real frightening truth is that all the Reaganite rhetoric and pathological demagogy about talking and negotiating with the Soviet Union is nothing more than deceptions of a nuclear warhawk in peacemaker's clothing. All the Reagan rhetoric about peace is a diabolical diversion and cover for all the war preparations and moves toward nuclear war.

"We have an Administration that aggressively pur-

"Before Jackson There Was Nothing" Michael "To Be Or Not To Be" The Prisoners At Ansar Lewis M Moroze

Vol. 14, No. 1

David Fried

Editorial . . .

Lessons for Israel

Meir Vilner

Editorial Committee

Herbert Aptheker, Editor

Lewis M. Moroze, Managing Editor

Humanity's Existence Is At Stake

Herbert Aptheker

7 Michael Doran Read and File 8 Rachel Bernstein Zionism, Zionists and the Holocaust

TABLE OF CONTENTS

EWISH

Jan./Feb. 1984

Jack Kling

2

3

5

6

Alex Kolkin

David Seltzer

Dorand .

| Anti-Defamation League Defames Nicaragua | 13 |
|--|----|
| Mini Festival of Yiddish Theatre | |
| Judith Albert | 15 |
| A Trilogy | |
| Susan Kling | 16 |
| Israel Flagrantly Violates International Law | |
| Felicia Langer | 17 |
| Yiddish Section | |
| David Seltzer | 24 |

APOLOGIA: The picture of the New Jewish Agenda contingent at the August 27 March on Washington was taken by Sidney J. Gluck. Sorry we overlooked it.

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Jewish Affairs

Humanity's Existence Is At Stake: The 1984 Elections By Herbert Aptheker

The Reagan Administration is the most racist since that of James Buchanan, the most anti-labor since that of Calvin Coolidge, the most heartless since that of Herbert Hoover, and the most warlike since that of Theodore Roosevelt.

Reagan's closest friends and advisers, such as James Watt and Edwin Meese, have, like their employer, exclusive country-club mentalities wherein "Blacks, Jews and cripples" are the source of hilarity, and the realities of terrible privation, homelessness and hunger afflicting millions of Americans are dismissed as "political ploys" or partisan "anecdotes."

Since Reagan's brutal strike-breaking against the Air Traffic Controllers gave the lead, working people have been subjected to boss intransigence and greed, police brutality, propaganda assaults, judicial hostility and administrative bias seeking nothing less than the destructin of the trade-union movement.

The Reagan Administration has flaunted its opposition to affirmative action and has sought to handcuff its enforcement machinery. It has turned its so-called Justice Department into a battering ram seeking to destroy what was accomplished and was promised by the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s.

The Reagan Administration policies have managed to further impoverish the poor and enrich the wealthy with astonishing speed and catastrophic results. Studies completed early in December, 1983 — confirmed by the Census Bureau and by the Congressional Joint Committee on Taxation — show that during Reagan's rule the disposable income of the poorest one-fifth of families fell almost ten percent while that of the richest one-fifth held steady. In the same period all taxes for the richest fifth decreased .5%, while taxes for the poorest fifth *increased* 2.2%. The number of Americans officially classified as poor rose from 24.5 millions in 1978 to 34.4 millions in 1982, and is probably at about 36 millions at the end of 1983. The official poverty rate reached 15% as of 1983, the highest in seventeen years.

Unemployment — despite all the coordinated propaganda about its decline — still remains officially at about ten millions, with another three millions working part-time and about one and a half millins more unemployed but "discouraged" and lost from the government's official count.

To none of this, of course, have the Jewish people in the United States been immune. On the contrary, the racism of the Reagan Administration reflects itself nationally in the rise of the organized Right with its characteristic anti-Semitism. The result has been an extraordinary wave of assaults upon Jewish individuals, community centers, synagogues, homes, and cemeteries.

Furthermore, the economic disaster has by no means bypassed Jews. On the contrary, a study issued in November, 1983 by the American Jewish Committee is entitled "Jews on the Edge" - meanng on the edge of disaster. At least 15% of the Jewish population in the United States is at or below the poverty level - i.e., about one million men, women and children. Local philanthropic agencies in Atlanta, Baltimore, New York City, Philadelphia, Detroit, Chicago, Los Angeles, Miami, confirm widespread unemployment, evictions, suicides - desperation. Mark Talisman, executive director of the Council of Jewish Federations, put it bluntly: "Terrible choices are made about who is going to eat and who isn't, while we are getting reports of the rotting of surplus food." (Quoted in Chicago Sentinel, Dec. 1, 1983.)

In the face of this reality at home — and, reflecting capitalism's bankruptcy, largely because of this reality at home— the Reagan Administration proposes to expend one and a half trillion dollars on arms through 1985, and projects a national deficit of almost two hundred billion dollars for 1984. Its nuclear-weapons policy and its emplacing first-strike, strategic missiles within six minutes of Soviet cities, bring all humanity to the brink of one vast crematoria.

In pursuit of world hegemony, the Reagan Administration destroys or seeks to destroy progressive and humane governments from Grenada to Angola, from Nicaragua to Afghanistan, and bulwarks sadistic clients from El Salvador to South Korea to Pakistan to the Phalange puppet who "rules" a portion of Beirut, with the "help" of NATO troops, planes and ships — and in league with the Israeli government.

Flashpoints abound — off South Korea, adjacent to the Iran-Iraq conflict, within the South African cauldron, in the Caribbean and in Central America.But nowhere is the danger greater than — still — in the Mid-East where vast armed forces are mobilized and face each other and where Tel Aviv has tied itself, more closely than ever before, in a political, economic and military alliance with Reagan's Washington.

On the domestic and the international fronts - they

Jan./Feb., 1984

3

are so closely connected as to be two sides of the same coin — the people of the United States and of the world have as their main affliction, the Reagan Administration representing the most racist, most sexist, most reactionary and most aggressive components of U.S. monopoly capitalism. Very much part of those endangered are the Jewish masses in the United States as well as the State of Israel itself.

Unless one achieves in the United States a massive popular repudiation of Reaganism on every level – local, state and national – with its replacement, in 1984, by a politics of social progress, human equality, real disarmament and serious commitment to peaceful co-existence, it is possible that the world will not survive.

An awareness of this sombre reality is growing in our nation and among Jewish masses. True it is that organized Jewish resistance to the war-threatening actions of the Reagan Administration has been slow to appear. This reflects the dominant leadership's general conservatism and, especially, its uncritical pro-Tel Aviv position, translating into support of Nixon in the past and of Reagan in the present.

But, as the economic disasters of the past three or four years increasingly have been felt by significant sections of the Jewish population and as the war-making policies of the Likud government have brought shame and death, and as, in consequence, the anti-war movement burgeoned in Israel, a sharp change has come to the Jewish millions in the United States.

A decisive component of that change is the fact that one may now speak accurately of a real anti-nuclear, anti-war movement involving major elements of organized Jewry. Very recent illustrations of this positive development include the resolutions adopted early in December, 1983, by the 100,000 member National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods at its 34th biennial assembly held in Houston. This Reform Jewish women's group issued a call for "a universal, verifiable nuclear freeze as the first step toward true reduction in nuclear arms." It also urged a ban on the testing of nuclear weapons and the prohibition of the development, manufacture, storage and use of nerve gases. Both resolutions clearly are aimed against public positions and plans of Reagan.

In conjunction with the national televising of "The Day After," the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (UAHC) launched educational meetings at Reform synagogues throughout the nation. Typical was the program given – the day afer 'The Day After'' – at Temple

4

Beth El in Great Neck, N.Y. Here Rabbi Jerome Davidson told several hundred worshippers: "Now is the time to reverse the arms race and support a bilateral, verifiable nuclear freeze."

The UAHC has published a manual – "Preventing the Nuclear Holocaust: A Jewish Response" – as part of its campaign to educate and organize its constituency in opposition to nuclear weaponry. Benjamin Abelow, a major contributor to that manual, and director of the Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism – based in Washington, D.C. – speaking at the Great Neck synagogue, denounced Reagan's MX policy and deploying Pershing II missiles in Western Europe: "These weapons," he said, "do not deter war but rather bring it closer by undermining deterrence."

Abelow's remarks were in line with the policy of UAHC which, representing seven hundred Reform synagogues in the United States and Canada, has called for all nuclear powers to cease "the testing, production and deployment of first-strike nuclear weapons."

Especially noteworthy is the fact that Rabbi Davidson specifically called for "co-existence with the Soviet Union and an end to the 'evil empire' mentality." He denounced those who sow "distrust and hatred of the USSR" and concluded by affirming that Jewish people "must become part of a developing religious voice in the land, calling for an end to the madness and renewing our hopes for peace."

Amen.

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Jewish Affairs

Lessons for Israel Meir Vilner

We publish excerpts of a speech by Meir Vilner, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Israel, at the international conference on Karl Marx in Berlin, April, 1983.

Lessons for Israel

The Communist Party of Israel is equipped with the sharpest ideological weapon — Marxism-Leninism and acts in accordance with the central slogan of Marx and Engels: "Workers of all countries unite!" or in other words, in accordance with the principles of proletarian internationalism. In this way the Jewish-Arab Communist Party of Israel expresses the true national interests of both peoples in the country.

It is not by chance that our Marxist-Leninist party was the only party in Israel which correctly assessed the wars which the ruling Zionist circles in Israel ignited in alliance with imperialist powers in 1956 and 1967. We assessed, and today many people agree with us, that those wars were aggressive, colonialist and expansionist wars.

It is not by chance that our Marxist-Leninist party opposed in a consistent and uncompromising struggle from the first moment the new Israeli-American aggression in Lebanon against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples.

As Marxists we see the problem of Israel and the whole Middle East region in the context of the general struggle in the world betwen imperialism and reaction on the one hand, and socialism and progress on the other, between the forces of war and the forces of peace.

As Marxists we see the perspective of the inevitable change in the correlation of forces in the Middle East and the world, in accordance with the wishes and interests of the peoples, and to the detriment of imperialism and reaction. Therefore we assess that the continuation of the policy of force of the ruling Zionist circles in Israel, the continuation of service to the global policy of US imperialism against the independent states and against the national liberation movements, in the Middle East and outside it, and against the Soviet Union and communism; the continuation of the racist and expansionist policy against the Palestinian people and other Arab peoples — that this policy endangers the very existence of Israel as a Middle East state.

We have learned from our own experience how correct and topical the Marxist assessment is that a people Jan./Feb., 1984

which enslaves another people cannot itself be free, or as Marx expressed it: "A people, oppressing another, forges its own chains."

Israel now maintains a colonial occupation on the territories of three peoples: The Palestinian, Lebanese and Syrian. But the people of Israel is not free but enslaved by American imperialism.

In today's Israel the danger of fascism has intensified. This stems from the policy of war, occupation and oppression, from the policy which serves the Israeli financial and parasitical capital which is connected, with and integrated in the financial capital of the U.S. and other NATO states.

In the Manifesto of the International Workingmen's Association in 1864 we read: "If the emancipation of the working classes requires their fraternal concurrence, how are they to fulfill that great mission with a foreign policy in pursuit of criminal designs, playing upon national prejudices, and squandering in piratical wars the people's blood and treasure?"

"Secure Frontiers"

The ruling Zionist circles in Israel are attempting to excuse their expansionist aspirations by the necessity of "secure frontiers."

Marx wrote: "If borders are to be fixed by military interests, there will be no end to claims, because every military line is necessarily faulty, and may be improved by annexing some more outlying territory; and, moreover, they can never be fixed finally and fairly, because they always must be imposed by the conquerer upon the conquered, and consequently carry within them the seed of fresh wars. Such is the lesson of all history."

"We, Israeli Marxists, have learned from history and call upon our people to learn from it; secure frontiers are only those which are recognized by all sides, by all involved states, that is to say frontiers of peace. Frontiers of peace are based on respect of the rights of all the peoples — in our circumstances, respect for the rights of the Palestinian Arab people, to establish their own independent state under the leadership of the PLO — their sole representative — alongside the State of Israel. We struggle for the withdrawal of Israel from all the territories which it occupied since 1967, and for a jus solution of the question of the Palestinian refugees, in accordance with the UN decisions.

In our struggle against the policy of aggression and occupation of the ruling circles in Israel, which is backed by U.S. imperialism, we contribute also our share to the defense of general peace.

"Before Jackson There Was Nothing" By Michael Doran

"Before Jesse there was nothing."

That was how former New York City Council President and long time political activist Paul O'Dwyer boiled down the current political campaign a few weeks ago at the Jackson-for-President rally in New York. His words appeared to register the feelings of millions of people around the country that Jesse Jackson has helped to spark a new quality in the presidential race.

Everyone recognizes that below the surface of the much publicized hoopla of "economic recovery" there is a great fear and unease in the country. The'economic recovery" bubble has meant unprecedented profits that find the corporate giants holding their breaths in anticipation of more to come while "official" figures continue to register an unemployment rate of 8.2 percent (a figure that hides more than it tells), that millions of Americans live in the shadow of hunger and mullions more are frightened about the loss of some of the most basic social services, that schools, public transportation, housing, health care, environmental protection and other major human needs are in the process of total collapse in the face of the most massive budget cuts in these areas in history, that the hard fought gains won by Blacks, other minorities and women are in terrible danger. And despite the sudden attempt to put on the new face of "a man of peace", Americans everywhere are more frightened than at any other time in our history over the realization that the Reagan administration has taken us closer toward a nuclear holocaust than we have ever been.

But as always, there has been that terrible dilemma posed by a political system dominated by the two parties of monopoly. What alternative is there?

Most of the Democratic candidates have been a lackluster crew who have turned on nobody — certainly not the broad masses of people in the country who face the growing problems every day. One of them, Mondale, was intimately connected with the backsliding policies of the Carter years that paved the way for the election of Reagan. Others have taken reactionary positions on many of the issues. Still others like Cranston, McGovern, and Hart, have taken some god positions but have not been able to arouse anything more than a ho-hum in an electorate used to good statements by politicians before elections and bad policies afterwards. And then, Jesse Jackson announced his candidacy.

The Jackson campaign has done more than to put a new charismatic personality into the race. First, by the presence of a Black presidential candidate speaking to the needs of Black and white people in this country who have been the victims of Reaganism, it has been an enormous step forward in the fight against racism. The theme of Black-white unity has been a key element in his campaign. In Detroit, speaking of the Reagan policies, he said, "Hunger knows no race, ignorance knows no race, disease knows no race, pain knows no race, nuclear bombs know no race."

A logical outgrowth of this major stride against racism is the fact that it has succeeded in moving the entire campaign toward where the people are. Jackson himself has pointed out the direction. "Reagan has cast a great shadow. . . " he said, again in Detroit. "There is more poverty, more people on welfare, more people unemployed, more malnutrition, more tuberculosis, more despair than since 1965. Schools are being closed while

(Continued form page 5)

Peace or War

There must be no neutrality or apathy on the question of peace and war. The fate of all the peoples is at stake. Our generation can, and must, choose between two existing worlds: One is the world of drowning capitalism which imperils the very existence of mankind, a sort of "Let my soul perish with the Philistines." As far as it is concerned all the world can be destroyed, as long as socialism will not be victorious. As against this there is the socialist world, which prospers and develops, which ceaselessly improves, raises the dignity of people, their well-being and culture; which develops democracy and, most important, defends human civilization and the very existence of mankind against the danger of nuclear extermination.

In conclusion I want to say: Even if there is no agreement on various subjects, it is the duty of all of us towards the masses of the working people in our countries, towards our peoples, towards the whole of mankind, to act together, unitedly for frustrating the plans of the imperialist warmongers; for stopping the arms race and for disarmament; for extinguishing the hotbeds of war — in one word: To save humanity from a worldwide catastrophe; for detente in international relations, for consolidation of peace in the world, for social progress.

Jewish Affairs

jails are being built. Teachers with masters degrees are walking the streets unemployed while jail wardens gain tenure and stature."

And on the paramount issue of war or peace, he said, "We need a President who will take risks for peace," who will "give peace a chance." He has opposed the invasion of Grenada, as well as the U.S. aid to the counter-revolutionary "contras" in Nicaragua, and the support for the right-wing Salvadorean junta.

Probably the greatest effect of the Jackson presidential campaign has been in getting thousands of new potential voters excited enough to register to vote. Up until now, disgust and lethargy with the candidates of both parties have kept about half or more of the eligible voters away from the polls in presidential elections. Many of those potential voters who have been turned off are Black and Hispanic people who have seen no hope in either Democrats or Republicans. Jackson pointed out in one speech that in eight southern states with three million unregistered Black voters, Reagan won in 1980 by only a few hundred thousand. And in New York State, Reagan won by 165,000 votes while 900,000 Black and 600,000 Hispanic men and women of voting age are not registered. "Many of us elected Reagan by default," declares Jackson. "He was elected by less than the number of unregistered voters." A hallmark of the Jackson rallies has been signing people up to register to vote afer Jackson has spoken.

The latest polls show Jackson support increasing, particularly after he played such a prominent role in he release of the flyer shot down in Lebanon. However, Jackson himself cannot underestimate the odds against his becoming the Democratic party nominee. <u>Racism is still far too ingrained in the United States and the Democratic party, like the Republican, is still the party of <u>monopoly capitalism</u>. But his campaign has been a major breakthrough in the drive to defeat Reaganism.</u>

At the New York Jackson-for-President rally (a few weeks ago) Ramon Jiminez of *Latinos for Jackson* summed it all up. "We need a progressive movement in this country because the Democrats have turned a deaf ear to Blacks, Puerto Ricans, the poor. The Jackson campaign has a place for all of us. It's open. It's democratic. We need to work together."

Michael Doran is a teacher of history.

WELCOME HOME ESTHER & TOM Jean & Beryl No. Miami Beach, Fla.

Jan./Feb., 1984

"To Be Or Not To Be" By Michael Doran

Mel Brooks can be a very funny man. Crazy yes, but at his best, also very funny. He has a certain timing and creativeness that has made his name a contemporary by-word in top-grade motion picture comedy.

His problem, however, is that there are times when the subjects about which he chooses to be funny are those that belie comedy. At these times, his movies at best leave a bad taste in the mouth while at worst they can be negative and reactionary in content.

I recall his movie *Blazing Saddles* a few years ago, when in writing about the difficulties of a Black sheriff in a western frontier town, many of the jokes were openly racist in character and most people in an audience in the United States were being encouraged not to laugh with the Black man at his racist adversaries but at the racist wisecracks and jokes that have been standard fare in our country for decades.

All this came to my mind a few weeks ago as 1 watched Brooks' latest hit, To Be or Not to Be. The story revolves around a theatre company in Warsaw in 1939 headed by a leading Jewish actor and his wife and how they aid a plot to fool the Nazis who recently invaded their country.

The problem is that in creating the Nazi characters, particularly a Gestapo Colonel played by Charles Durning, he has made them a pack of bumbling idiots — but almost likeable in their stupidity and in their ability to be outwitted at every turn. It is this characteristic that renders them virtually harmless, very much in the same spirit as the character of Sergeant Schultz, the nearly lovable prison camp guard in Hogan's Heroes, the long running TV series of a decade ago. How can such dopey little boys who are always outsmarted by the "good guys" do any harm?

It is also reminiscent of many of the World War II vintage movies that showed "Nazis" of this type. You laughed at them, they could not be taken seriously, and you went home feeling better.

But my wife and I saw this movie only a short time after we had seen something else. On a visit to the German Democractic Republic last year, we had stopped off at Weimar and had paid a visit to the nearby site of the concentration camp at Buchenwald. Looking at the cute little dumbbells on the celluloid screen that evening a few weeks ago, I thought back to that day in Buchenwald last year — to the crematorium and the gas chambers, the instruments of torture and the systematic destruction of millions by these likeache should men in their gaudy uniforms that at many Americans over the years take aughted at, and are now baughing at, in their teightermood movie toppes.

Into recalled as a variable To Be or North Be a more moving scene at that awful place on that day. It was the logit of hundreds of students of jurtier and senior high school age being taken through Buchenwald by their teachers, an experience required by the curriculum in the GDR. As they walked intough the buildings and grounds, as the details of fasciam's death camps were explained to them by their teachers, as they looked with their youthful eyes at the horror a previous generation of their countrymen had been led to create, one could sense them growing up almost in a few hours. Nothing was spared.

Later, in Weimar itself, I was given a history textbook by a high school teacher. It is the text used by all high school students in the GDR. Fascism was dissected in every detail — what it was, how it functioned, who profited, who lost, and the terrible cost. Nothing funny here. A generation of anti-fascist vouth has grown up in the GDR that does not regard Hitlerites as likeable fools. No, *To Be or Not to Be* would not be made in a socialist country — or for that matter, in any country that had experienced at first hand the realities of fascism.

Now, don't get me wrong. I like good comedy. It purges the soul. The best comedy is often a working class weapon in the struggle for a better world. O'Casey, Brecht, Sholem Aleichem were all masters of this kind of comedy. But comedy that makes pleasant little paties cut of mass murderers is like trying to make water run uphill. Worse, it results in a situation where millions of Americans fought against fastism in World War II, hundreds of housands of our soldiers were killed, and to our shame, very few Americans really had any undersanding of what fastism was all about — which is really part of our problem today.

Charlie Chaplin, probably the greatest master of them all at movie comedy, rifed to do the same thing once with The Great Distance. The movie was a big hit when it was shown in the early forties but has not really stood up to the artistic test of time on subsequent revivals — certainly not like his other great classics. Modern Times or City Lipkin, When asked why he thought The Great Distance no longer seems as good as it was once considated to be Chaplin was very frank. He said that when the movie was made, no one in the United States really understood the full hornor of Hitlerism. He had treated fascists with score and satire; a concentration camp was

Honorius Lans I lekpatrick

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Jeans Endpowerk is a prime advocate for the increased U. authous presence in Central America, figuring in the destances and troops to Honduras and to add contrast and upping to topple the Hieraraguan government, among other things. Her support for right-wing dictatorships such as Argenting under the juntas and Chile whose human rights atrocities are well documented and many of whose victims are Jewish — is also known to all.

Nonetheless, there has hardly been one Jewish organization that has not scheduled Kirkpatrick as a speaker or presented her with an award or both — most recently, Hadassah, the American Committee for the Weizmann Institute of Science and B'Nai B'Rith Wormen. Last fall Pioneer Women/Na'amat in the U.S. decided to present its Golda Meir Human Relations Award to Kirkpatrick.

The Israel Horizons article neglected to list the Simon Wiesenthal Holocaust Center award and the fact that Jeane Kirkpatrick is the darling of *Commentary*, the organ of the American Jewish Committee. It is not only Beein that hands out awards to the far right.

The Social Good

The American Jewish Congress June 1983 "Inventory of Democracy: A Record of the Last Two Years," declares that "Although the philosophy undergirding the assault against the large body of Americans who continue to be disadvantaged and dispossessed have been vigorously advanced by the President and his Administration, and they bear primary responsibility, we are not unmindful that Democrats in the Congress have in some instances gone even beyond the Administration

depicted as perhaps a rather severe jail. It wasn't until some years later — towards the end of the war and in the war's immediate aftermath — that we really learned the true nature of this monster. Chaplin felt that in the light of history, *The Great Dictator* was no longer all that funny.

Chaplin of course was more than a great cornedian. He was a great artist. And an important difference between a great artist and a comedian who is just out for a few laughs at some gags is that the artist understands history and learns from it. Perhaps one day, Mel Brooks and others in our country will do the same, although it is getting quite late in the day. in budgetary depredations. Our inventory of the American conditions today reveals an imperative need for a renewed dedication to imaginative and courageous social programs by every political sector in our society.

"Recent efforts to reduce governmental intervention in a number of traditional areas has led to the undermining of agencies of government responsible for enforcing civil rights, educating the next generation, protecting the health and safety of workers and preserving America's environment. These efforts, often fostered in the name of reform, have proved to be an assault upon America's capacity to defend the public good. They have culminated in losses for which our country may pay the price for many years to come."

On the Middle East the AJC peddles the Zionist line which ties Israel to U.S. policy in the Middle East.

On over-all U.S. foreign policy the AJC is groping for some sober approaches when the statement declares that "The problems on this globe and the desperate populations of this planet will not yield to a negative foreign policy that sees every issue through an East-West prism or which responds only to what we fear and oppose."

There can be no progress in the struggles for world peace while AJC persists in peddling the line of Soviet anti-Semitism which feeds Reagan's monstrous lie that the Soviet Union is "the focus of evil."

Questioning, Wrestling, Deciding

"Questioning, Wrestling, Deciding," is the title of the Presidential Address of Rabbi Alexander Schindler to the 57th General Assembly of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations held in Houston, Texas, November 10-15, 1983. Excerpts from that address follow::

Reaganomics has but tightened the nation's belt 'round the necks of the poor. True, our economy gives appearance of being on the mend. Certainly the inflationary cycle has been broken, but only by means of a most severe recession. As a result millions of Americans are out of work and out of hope, and they have lost the faith that America gives a damn for them.

This Administration, in its foreign policy, continues to be beset by an obsession with force. It reflects an arrogance of power which ignores our political ideals and disdains our moral values. Impetuously, impulsively, it forces military solutions on crises that are political, economic and social in their essence.

We live under the first Administration in memory that has aimed not to contain the arms race but to win it, Jan./Feb., 1984

unable or unwilling to see that finish line is ultimate disaster. In virtually every negotiating area have we closed the door.

Insult and bluster and threats will not persuade them (the Soviets). Nor will we ever be able to force the Russians into compliance by means of the arms race. ... There is simply no alternative to the arduous task of talking, painstaking negotiation, of a constant striving to define our mutual interest in survival that we manifestly share.

Jewish Economic Dependency

"Jewish Economic Dependency and Dislocation" is the title of a report submitted to the House of Representatives by the American Jewish Committee.

The statement referred to the AJC study issued in 1971. "The Invisible Jewish Poor," in which it was reported that 700,000 - 800,000 Jewish poor exist in the U.S., approximately two-thirds were elderly. Other reports indicated one million Jews living on or below the poverty level.

In the current AJC report it is revealed that there is now a growing number of young Jewish Americans living on what the AJC report indicates as "on the edge" of poverty.

Ninety per cent of Jewish Americans in the economy are in white collar jobs. The AJC report states: "Recent cuts in social programs and the severe impact of the recession have added to the vulnerability of certain subgroups... following cuts in public aid programs, one third of all Jewish households receiving public benefits lost all or part of such benefits and, in 11 percent of Jewish households jobs had been lost or working hours reduced."

The report concludes: "The American Jewish Committee is committed to a strong federal role to insure that basic human needs are adequately met ... and that adequate funding be provided so that the qualified voluntary agencies can maintain needed human services."

> Greetings From Dora Laker To Two Special People

Fannie Koltman — President of the Friendship Club

and her husband - Max

The Prisoners At Ansar Rachel Bernstein

"Anselem Kipfer, a contemporary German artist, analyzes the historical past of his people through mythologies. An Israeli, Kipfer would certainly require the use of two metaphors to understand our history — the Western Wall and Ansar Camp, symbol of "enlightened" conquest and rule of man over man."

-From a letter by Tzvi Goldstein, an artist and lecturer on art in Jerusalem, who is a member of Yesh G'vul ("There Is a Limit") and who served a jail sentence for refusing to go to Lebanon.

The American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC) Research Institute devoted a recent Background Paper (#11, August 1983) to One Year Later: The Prisoners at Ansar.

Ansar is a makeshift prison camp located in the south of Lebanon, close to the Israeli border. It came into being last June, at the time of Israel's invasion of Lebanon. Currently, there are over 5,000 prisoners (many held in violation of the Geneva Conventions) at Ansar. The camp is surrounded by barbed wire, and heavily guarded. Inside, conditions are inadequate at best.

Articles in One Year Later deal with United States' commitment, the experiences of a Palestinian detainee and an Israeli reservist, a report from Amnesty International, legal aspects of the detentions, and the applicability of the Geneva Conventions. One report deals with Lebanese women in Israeli jails — located outside of Ansar, they suffer similar conditions.

I'd like to examine two chapters of One Year Later. The first is the one on "Lebanese Women in Israeli Jails." In it, Livia Rokach, of the Rome-based Center of Information for the Defense of Palestinian Civilian Populations, Prisoners, Deportees, and the Missing in Lebanon, tells in some detail the story of Mariam Abdel Jelil.

Until about a year ago, Mariam Abdel Jelil was a mentally and physically healthy young Palestinian woman living in a refugee camp in Southern Lebanon. Then, in November 1982, Israeli soldiers suddenly arrested her and took her away. She spent 79 days in a women's prison in the center of Israel. On her return Mariam was a wreck: in shock, unable to eat, communicate, or work.

The Israeli authorities, trying to cover up the reason Mariam returned in such a condition, claim that she was "mentally sick" when arrested. But why, Rokach wonders, would a sophisticated secret service arrest and interrogate a psychologically impaired woman and hold her in solitary confinement for more than two months without filing any charges against her?

This article details Mariam's past: how being a Palestinian refugee affected her life; what her family was like: how she chose, with the help of a Lebanese social service agency (Association Najdeh), to help both herself and other young women in similar circumstances by earning a living teaching embroidery in her camp; the effects of Israel's invasion on her life. It traces the circumstances surrounding her arrest; her subsequent interrogations; the intervention of prominent individuals and worldwide organizations on her behalf; and the response from Israeli officials. Felicia Langer, the noted Israeli attorney who has devoted much of her life to defending Palestinians, reports her attempts to locate Mariam and to visit her. Mariam's personal story ends with her release and her return home a "shadow of her former self."

The article concludes with stories of other women who have been arrested. The Palestinian family, it point out, is traditionally a very close one. Especially at this point in history, it rests heavily on the woman. The Israeli authorities are exerting extreme psychological pressure on both the women and their families in order to extract information about the men in their families, to encourage the men to give themselves up, or to get the women to collaborate with interrogators.

I met Mariam on a trip to Lebanon in 1980. The latest word I have of her (September 1983) is that she is recuperating — eating, relating to others, and again working as an embroiderer.

The other article I'd like to examine is "Like Animals," an eyewitness account of Israeli practices in Sidon Military Headquarters. Written by Israel Segal, it was first published in the Israeli publiction, *Koteret Rashit* of March 16, 1983.

"Like Animals" is based on an interview with Ilan Blum, a reserve lieutenant in the Israel Defense Force. Five years ago, Ilan spent ten days in an Argentinian prison as a suspected Israeli spy. The experience left an impression of "humiliation, torture, and horror." In January 1983, Ilan was assigned to the Israeli military headquarters in Sidon, Lebanon. He likens what he witnessed in Sidon to what he underwent in Argentina.

Blum vividly describes how detainees are treated, from humiliation and cursings to beatings and torture. He reports that Major Saad Haadad, a Lebanese renegade whom the Israelis subsidize and authorize to control the southern enclave of Lebanon, shares a build Jewish Affairs ing with the IDF headquarters in Sidon and basically controls the day-to-day happenings.

On one occasion, Blum watched one of Haddad's men knock down a detainee, in turn causing three others to fall. When the Hadad militia burst into laughter, Blum interfered, explaining that the Israeli Army doesn't do this sort of thing. The retort: "You just get out of here and we'll slaughter all the Palestinians."

Torture occurs in full view of the Israelis. Blum reports that even the most right-wing of the Israeli soldiers were appalled by the maltreatment.

The Israeli borderguards require detainees to sweep, wash, clean toilets, and do other unpleasant chores that the soldiers are supposed to do. These borderguards seem to enjoy what they do, and they're proud of their actions. They make fun of the reservists who object to their ways by calling them "naive and softies." They even invite them in to show off their methods of 'interrogation."

The most disheartening aspect of this story is that Iraeli commanders allow this to happen. It reminds me of Israel's "indirect responsibility' in the masacre at Sabra and Shatila. To surround either a camp or a military headquarters; to cooperate with those who practice methods which are barbaric; to supply at least food and drink, and probably weaponry and uniforms, to brutal militias; to allow innocent beings (the detainees for the most part are not even charged with anything and are usually released within hours) to suffer, and to be aware of an injustice and to not interfere is indeed a crime.

The article ends with the story of a girl who had been gang-raped by Haddad's men; they beat her so badly that she could hardly walk. An Israeli eyewitness reported, 'They even tried to get a dog to mount her. God!' This case was never investigated; the Israeli commanders explained that this sort of behavior is a Lebanese custom - a normal thing. Of course, neither Lebanese nor Israelis would look kindly on an inquiry.

Israeli Prime Minister Shamir attended Haddad's funeral and eulogized him.

Israel is not likely to withdraw from the South of Lebanon anytime soon. Ansar is not about to disappear. For those of us who are concerned about the continuing abuses and for those of us who need to keep abreast of the situation — this paper serves as an excellent educator and resource.

Copies of ADC's paper may be obtained by writing to: ADC, 1731 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Suite 400, Washington, DC 20009.N

RACHEL BERNSTEIN is a reader and contributor to Jewish Affairs.

Zionism, Zionists and the Holocaust By Lewis M. Moroze

"Zionism in the Age of the Dictators," by Lenni Brenner, Lawrence Hill &Co., Westport, Con. 277 pages, paperback, 1983, \$8.95.

The independent citizens commission studying the Holocaust, under the chairmanship of former US Ambassador to the UN, Arthur Goldberg, is facing serious difficulties in filing a report. The commission faces the task of recording truthfully the role of the leading Zionists and Zionism in the age of the dictators.

In the book, "Zionism in the Age of the Dictators," Lenni Brenner records that role including essays and comments by Zionist leaders and official Zionist writings and documents. In their own words they reveal their dealings with the perpetrators of the Holocaust.

In an essay in the New York Review of Books, 2/18/ 82, Rabbi Arthur Hertzberg, Vice President of the World Jewish Congress, castigates the Zionist "zealots," — Begin, et al — who, he says, strayed from the path of the Zionist "idealists" placing the State of Israel in grave jeopardy.

In Brenner's carefully researched work free reign is given to the thoughts, words and deeds of the Zionist "idealists" — Chaim Weizmann, David Ben Gurion, Max Nordau, Nahum Sokolow, Emil Ludwig, Rabbi Joachim Prinz, Rabbi Stephen Wise, Nahum Goldmann and many, many others.

These Zionist leaders reveal in their own words and actions that their perspectives and dealings were designed not to save the mass of Jews facing Hitler's "final solution" and not to combat fascism but to create a lewish State in Biblical Palestine and to populate it salectively.

To stop the rising threat of fascism many Jews joined the International Brigades to combat the Franco fascist forces in Spain. These Jews were castigated for their role by the Zionist leaders who held that they should have come to Palestine instead.

Harry Sacher, a British leader of the World Zionist Organization, indicated Zionist affinity for fascism when he wrote: "For Zionists, liberalism is the enemy; it is also the enemy to Nazism; ergo, Zionism should have sympathy and understanding for Nazism, of which anti-Semitism is a fleeting accident."

In 1933 the German Zionist Federation sent a memorandum to the Nazi Party. Describing it, Rabb

Jan./Feb., 1984

CONT. FROM PARE 2

Joachim Prinz said: "it is a statement notable for its pride and dignity.... we called for a conference." Inter alia the statement observed: "On the foundation of the new state, which has established the principle of race, we wish to fit our community into the total structure so that for us too, in the sphere assigned to us, fruitful activity for the fatherland is possible... Our acknowledgement of Jewish nationality provides for a clear and sincere relationship to the German people and its national and racial realities."

Concomitantly the Zionist leaders pursued accommodation with Hitler and the establishment of the Jewish State and so the Ha'Avera Transfer Agreement was reached between the German Zionists and the German fascists making it possible for wealthy Jews to emigrate from Germany to Palestine and to save the bulk of their fortunes. The Zionist leaders left the fate of the bulk of the Jews in nazi occupied Europe to the genocidal fascists.

Rabbi Joachim Prinz, after his arrival from Germany to the U.S. freed himself from what he characterized as his "bizarre" positions taken while still in Germany where he was a Zionist leader.

Nahum Goldmann also changed many of his positions drastically, making an enormous contribution to the struggles for world peace.

Rabbi Stephen Wise differed with some Zionist positions but at best tended to compromise under intense pressure from the Zionist bureaucracy and the Jewish big bourgeoisie.

Current Zionist leaders have learned little from history, prisoners of their own narrow nationalism and their alliance with Reagan foreign policy. The Zionist ruling circles of Israel, despite growing opposition amongst Israeli Jews and Jews in the U.S. have bound Israel to US foreign policy via the US-Israeli Strategic Military Alliance, an alliance to further Israeli aggression in the Middle East, offering up the peoples of Israel as sacrifices to US hegemonistic aims in the Middle East and in the world.

Brenner has exposed in a scholarly fashion the role of Zionism in the age of the dictators. The book reveals the need for more thorough probing by the author of the history of fascism, its anti-working class aims, its tactics and its promoters. There is proper emphasis on the crucial role of the united front in combatting fascism but there is no reference to the historic role played by Georgi Dmitroff. There is also lacking an accurate recording of the role of the Communist Party of Germany and its relationship with the Socialist Party of Germany in that period. sues acts of undeclared war in Central America, in the Mid East and Africa. We have an Administration that is allied with fascism, apartheid and all the forces of reaction around the world.

"The truth is that for all U.S. voters the fundamental question is how to make a 180 degree turn in U.S. foreign policy — from a policy of nuclear confrontation and military aggression to a policy of peaceful coexistence, negotiations and nuclear arms reductions...

"The economic truth is we have 10 million Americans out of work, and millions more who have given up in despair....

"And the bottom-line truth is that there can be no real, sustained economic recovery for working and poor people without a 180 degree turn in policies from the anti-labor, anti-people, racist policy of Reaganomics....

There need not be racism and chauvinism that poisons the atmosphere and keeps people divided.

"There need not be cuts in social security, food stamps, welfare and education.

"And the world need not be tottering on the brink of nuclear doomsday.

"There need not be all these things, but there are because of the all-devouring monopolies reaping outrageous profits — because we are the victims of a vicious Reaganite conspiracy that has created a dilemma a dilemma because: There cannot be guns and butter. There cannot be \$300 billion dollar military budgets and the rebuilding and reindustrialization of America. There cannot be a peaceful foreign policy based on anti-Sovietism, the big lie and a drive for first strike military superiority. There can be no serious negotiations and irresponsible confrontations. There can not be maximum corporate profits and maximum well-being and security for the people. There can not be equality without affirmative action.

This very fine work is deserving of the widest readership at this moment when the Zionist ruling circles of Israel have caused worldwide questioning of their practices. The facts revealed in this work are of immeasurable worth and when brought into the current discussions on the role of Zionism will reveal its true nature. It will be clear that it is Zionism, in league with and egged on by Reaganism, that is responsible for the dire straits in which the peoples of Israel find themselves today in the age of Reaganite nuclear madness. "In this campaign we will do our best to put out a fighting platform and program that solves the Reaganite dilemma, that reflects the necessary 180 degree turn in direction and politics....

"The Reaganite Civil Rights Commission talks about ending all regulations and laws that curb practices of racism and discrimination. We will fight for a 180 degree turn from this course — for affirmative action programs with verifiable measures, including quotas....

"Reagan and Schultz rant and rave about peaceful competition between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. Well, in the socialist countries there is no unemployment, no hunger, no homelessness, no slums, no racism. There are systems of free education and child care and a system of free medical care. Why not peaceful competition to create such conditions in the U.S.?

"Why not common sense, down to earth, practical solutions? People desperately need jobs and housing. So why not a massive job-creating housing construction program. The cities need rebuilding. So why not a nationalized steel industry producing both jobs and steel for such programs. People need food. So why not distribute all the cheese, butter and eggs in the storage warehouses and silos across the land. In the big cities people need transportation systems. People need medical care. So why not a comprehensive, free medical plan for everyone. Young people need a college education and training. Why not free colleges and vocational schools. Why not these people's programs? Reaganism, that's why not!

"So why not rid the political scene of Reaganism and all the Reaganites. Then we'll have all the resources, labor power and money to turn our country around 180 degrees.

"Why not — * A five-year moratorium on the interest the government pays on the national debt to the banks. This will make \$600 billion dollars available. * Cut the military budget in half. In five years we will save three quarters of a trillion dollars. * Revoke Reagan's giveaway corporate tax breaks. In five years this would give us one-half trillion dollars. . . .

"The 1984 election campaign will provide an opportunity to mobilize and build a unied people's movement against reactionary Reaganism and for a program of jobs, peace and equality."

The program of the CPUSA as outlined by Gus Hall and Angela Davis meets the needs of the coalitions nationwide struggling for jobs, peace and freedom. The program of the CPUSA is the only program meeting the Jan./Feb., 1984

Anti-Defamation League Defames Nicaragua

Rabbi Morton Rosenthal, director of the Latin American Affairs Department of the Anti-Defamation League, in a report written in May 1983 for the ADL develops the canard that the Sandinista government of Nicaragua is anti-Semitic.

In this report Rabbi Rosenthal states that the Jewish synagogue in Managua was confiscated and smeared with anti-Semitic slogans, that the head of the Jewish community was arrested, humiliated and abused and that the Nicaraguan Jewish community was forced into exile. Rabbi Rosenthal attributes these acts of anti-Semitism to the ties between the P.L.O. and the Sandinistas.

According to Joan Krukewitt, a correspondent of Jewish Affairs living in Nicaragua, textile importer Jaime Levy said at his home in the wealthy suburb of Las Colinas, "My business is functioning... and it will continue to function. I have not had obstacles put in the way of my business and I have never been persecuted by the Sandinistas because I am Jewish.

"Charges of anti-Semitism have been investigated by both of Nicaragua's human rights commissions, one of which is anti-Sandinista. The findings by both proved them to be unfounded."

Rabbi Rosenthal's report is based on the testimony of two Nicaraguan exiles — Isaac Stavisky and Abraham Gorn Beer and his son Isaac Gorn Stavisky. Both were close friends and associates of Jose Somoza, the dictator's half-brother who headed the vicious national guard.

The synagogue in Managua was ruined during an earthquake It was then rebuilt. Ms. Kruckewitt informs us that the Jewish community was 'never fervently religious, gradually disintegrated as services were held less

needs of our multi-national, multi-racial people and as such can deliver a most powerful blow against Reagan and Reaganism.

The candidacy of Gus Hall and Angela Davis will not only inject the burning issues of the day into the campaign but by so doing will energize the electorate to participate fully in the elections and guarantee that the questions of jobs, full equality and peace are given the attention that they deserve in this fateful election.

Guaranteeing that the names of Gus Hall and Angela Davis appear as candidates for President and Vice President in a maximum of States is a basic step in the campaign to oust Reagan and his cabal. often and the synagogue was closed in 1979. In mid '79, refugee families bombed out of their homes moved into the empty synagogue. In 1981 the families were relocated and the Ministry of Housing took over the building, which is presently rented to the Sandinista Children's Organization. The building is in excellent condition and the Sandinistas are willing to return it to the Jewish community. But the community which now consists of about 13 families expressed little interest in the synagogue."

In an article in the Los Angeles Weekly, 9/28/83, Farrell Broslawsky, professor of Jewish history at the Jewish Studies Center at Valley College in California, tears through the tissue of lies in the ADL report. The professor characterizes the ADL report as "defamation from the Anti-Defamation League" charging that "Rabbi Rosenthal's story was fraudulent at its inception and later layered over with misstatements and lies."

The commercial press readily disseminated the Rosenthal report causing quite a stir amongst Jewish Americans. The Reaganites jumped in; these arch racists and anti-Semites suddenly became the protectors of Jews in Nicaragua!

The Broslawsky critique reveals that "contradicting the ADL report, there are still a number of Jewish enterprises in Nicaragua. Jewish owned businesses range from small restaurants to the country's largest electronics firm owned by Bernard Setham. . . . In spite of the miniscule size of the Jewish community, four government leaders, Carlos Tunnerman, Reynaldo Antonio Tefel, Hertes Levites and Enrique Schmidt, the respective Ministers of Education, Social Welfare, Tourism and Telecommunications are all of Jewish origin." One of the major markets in Managua is named after Israel Levites, one of the nation's heroes who was killed during the revolution.

Broslawsky informs us that "The 50 Jews who left Managua were either opponents of the revolution or suspected collaborators in the Somoza tyranny." Broslawsky visited the Managua synagogue and found that it had not been vandalized but that the "front of the building is partially covered by a colorful mosaic depicting the joys of childhood," hardly an act of anti-Semitic vandalism.

The Gorn group which left Nicaragua met with President Reagan and through ADL's Rabbi Rosenthal demanded a restoration of their property in Nicaragua.

In assessing the role of the ADL, Broslawsky reveals the roots of the ADL position towards the Sandinista government. He states: "The Anti-Defamation League founded in the aftermath of the Leo Frank lynching. ... purportedly challenges bigotry, racism and anti-Semitism regardless of the source. However, since the inception of the Cold War (it) has expended a great deal of time and energy burrowing around in search for anti-Semitism on the left.'' Continuing, he reveals that the league "is remarkably subdued about the treatment of Jews in countries like Argentina (before the recent elections-*editor*) and South America that are part of the holy spectrum of American allies.''

"Having a largely bourgeois constituency," says Broslawsky, "the anti-Defamation League acts like the court Jews of the Middle Ages who sought to further their own interests while professing a concern for the well-being of the entire Jewish community."

Broslawsky concludes: "Among the Jewish people there is still a nascent commitment to traditional principles of social justice that can find expression in support for the Nicraguan revolution. As the truth seeps out concerning the slander directed against the Sandinistas, Jews may even act to support it. If that happens, the Anti-Defamation League may have inadvertently performed a 'mitzvah' (good deed) for decency and justice."

Progressive Jewish Americans have been supportive of the Nicaraguan revolution and critical of Reagan and the Israeli ruling circles who supported Somoza and now support Reagan policy against the Sandinista government. ADL distortions and lies must be fought because they seek to protect the ruling class against the best interest of the mass of the Jewish Americans and all Americans who are determined to put an end to joblessness, racism, anti-Semitism and war.



Mini Festival of Yiddish Theatre Judith Albert

Film versions of three Yiddish theatre classics were shown recently under the auspices of Yeshiva University in New York City.

The first of these was "Green Fields," written by Peretz Hirschbein around the turn of the century. Performed extensively on the Jewish stage, it was first filmed in 1937 in New Jersey on a shoestring budget of about \$8,000. The story is about a young man who leaves the sheltered, cloistered atmosphere of a Yeshivah to learn about the ways of the wider world. He finally reaches a rural Jewish settlement where he is warmly welcomed not only as a fellow Jew, but we find the farmers arguing over the honor and privilege of being hosts to a man of learning. They try very hard to retain him in their midst as a teacher for their children. Although he agrees to remain most reluctantly, he gradually comes to respect the people in his new community who work the soil with their hands and get it to yield the necessities of life. Of course, he also finds love, security and permanence in his new surroundings.

The "moral" Hirschbein imparted to his immigrant, largely unschooled, often illiterate audiences was the interdependence of brain and brawn, the mutual esteem of each for the other, the ever-present respect for learning even in the earthly milieu of rural isolation.

"Mirele Efros" was shown the following evening. Written by Jacob Gordin, the dean of Yiddish theatre during the last decade of the 19th century, it was first produced in New York in 1898 at the Thalia Theatre on 14th Street and proclaimed as "the Yiddish King Lear". The plot is a paraphrased version of the Shakespeare tragedy in which covetous, mercenary childen defraud their widowed mother of "all she had worked so hard to mass" in order to insure their future well being. In the process, they simultaneously rob her of her honor, dignity and standing in the community.

So important a place did this play attain in the history of the Yiddish theatre that as early as 1912 two film versions were produced — one in Moscow and the other in Poland. The latter starred Esther Rochl Kaminska, founder of the Jewish Art Theatre of Warsaw. Incidentally, "Mirele Efros" was last performed in New York City during the fifties and starred Ida Kaminska, Rochl's daughter. The film version was made in New Jersey in 1939, restored in 1979 starring Berta Gersten.

The third film was "God, Man and Devil,' also by Jacob Gordin and, again, a transliteration of a world Jan./Feb., 1984

classic — "Faust." In Gordin's version, Satan seduces an honest, pious Jew by the lure of money, flesh and power into betraying his principles, friends and family. Among the many "sins" he commits, one of the most malevolent is that he becomes a factory owner who cheats, mistreats and exploits his workers.

Gordin, just as Hirschbein, did not regard himself as merely a provider of entertainment for his audiences. His plays also conveyed "a message" — often as not a social truism or a profession of faith (albeit a simplistic one) in some basic socialist principle. In this sense the Yiddish theatre of those days bore a resemblance to the socially conscious segment of the Broadway theatre of the thirties and forties. It offered not only a release from the problems, pressures and tensions of everyday life in the sweatshops, but was a socializing agent, a bonding force and often a rudimentary school.

Such plays and films can be viewed from several additional perspectives today. For those old enough to remember when Second Avenue was the Broadway of Yiddish theatre or when occasional Yiddish films played the neighborhood movie circuits (as "Green Fields" did on a double bill with a Loretta Young picture) seeing them today brings memories of times long gone. It also helps if one understands the spoken dialogue for both the translation and the visibility of the English titles are quite poor.

For younger generations such films exemplify a genre of theatre and film arts that should be regarded much in the same light as a Shaw or Chekov play or a Charlie Chaplin movie.

Even though the plots and characters may seem very naive and outdated by our present day standards they should be seen in their historical and social context. Even in assessing the acting, production and direction one should take into account the facilities and money available in those times and the receptivity of audiences for which they were intended. Seen in this light, it becomes clear why these classics among others, played a very important role in the cultural and social development of generations of Jewish Americans.

Judith Albert is a contributor to Jewish Affairs.

We Honor the Memory Of Maurice

Fannie, Aaron and Toby Carroll

N. Miami Beach, Florida

A Trilogy Susan Kling

The following three selections were excerpted from "A Stone Thrown" by Susan Kling, a long-time civil rights activist, writer and poet who lives in Chicago. Susan is the wife of one of our editors, Jack Kling.

Paul Robeson

Why do we call him giant? He was not that big yet his outstretched arms could encircle and embrace the world And when he belted out a song it reached the skies And fell back nourishing us like strong rain on parched earth.

Nor could denial of visa or forced containment keep him rooted unwilling here from wrapping his love Round the world's motherless children cupping his ear For the echoes of his love to roll warm around him.

Denied the stage he turned a modest hall a home into an acclamation of the rights of man From let my people go to we shall overcome and the sureness of a myriad bright tomorrows.

Why do we call him giant? Because he was one standing like a colossus his feet astride two worlds A mountainhead above the fascist mob at Peekskill — round the world at home with equals.

Rail at the injustices that were heaped upon him; Weep for all who could not hear or would not heed his call:

Mourn for all the songs unsung that died within him; But shout hosannas that this giant lived at all!

FLORIDA CONTRIBUTORS

Editor's note: We apologize for publishing this list several months after the contributions were received. But better late than never.

| Sonia Furman\$ | 10.00 |
|-------------------------|-------|
| Fannie and Max Koltman | 10.00 |
| Jean and Berl Gittelman | 10.00 |
| Luba and Nat Furmansky | 5.00 |
| Masha Freedman | 5.00 |
| Dora and Hyman | 5.00 |
| Dora Laker | 5.00 |
| 16 | |

Fannie Lou Hamer

She was a poor unlettered Black sharecropper A child picking cotton in the Mississippi fields Her tired child's eyes on the round white bolls But her tremendous loving heart fastened to A dream in the sky.

Fannie Lou Hamer who are you? the cynics jeered. I'm humankind she called back. I'm man and woman — I'm poor and beaten but I dream of

Votes for Blacks And Freedom Democratic And Food for all An Toilets for Evrybody And End the wars

I'm People; Me with my broken body all crooked I'm tall as a pine tee and I stare you down. I'm the ramrod that helped to crack the racist lies And I'll be calling even from my grave;

Oh you poor and beaten Blacks and whites: Pluck that dream and Make it yours.

Clarion Call

Tear down the walls of prejudice Break through the bars of fear Ring out the call for global peace So all the world may hear.

Destroy the bombs of overkill Throw out the lords of war Clasp hands for peace across the seas Detente forevermore.

| Lena Ray | 5.00 |
|-------------------|-------|
| Pauline Tarkoff | 5.00 |
| Pauline Goldstein | 7.00 |
| Bertha Segal | 5.000 |
| Sonia Diamond | 5.00 |
| David Gooterman | 3.00 |
| Ruth Anderson | 5.00 |

\$150

Florida Friends

For "Open Letter"

Jewish Affairs

Israel Flagrantly Violates International Law By Felicia Langer

Below we publish excerpts of an address delivered by Felicia Langer at the International Conerence on the Question of Palestine, held in Geneva, Switzerland August 29 to September 7, 1983. Felicia Langer, world renowned Israeli civil liberties attorney is Vice President of the Israeli League for Human and Civil Rights.

The United Nations International Conference on the Question of Palestine is convening 16 years after Israel invaded and occupied Arab lands, among them the West Bank of Jordan and the Gaza Strip, and a year after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, which claimed thousands of innocent Palestinian and Lebancse victims, tremendous destruction in Lebanon and an armed occupation of another Arab state.

During all these years, Israel is flagrantly and constantly violating the international law, not abiding by the UN Charter, acting in defiance of all international norms as accepted by the family of nations, arrogantly neglecting various UN resolutions and annexing Arab Jerusalem and the Syrian Golan Heights by brutal force.

During the years of the occupation the Israeli authorities have done their best in order to suppress and humiliate the Palestinians in the occupied territories, to dispossess them, to break and crush their national identity and aspirations.

On the hills and in the valleys of Lebanon and its refugee camps the Israeli establishment is continuing its relentless and unholy war of annihilation of Palestinian political and human rights, begun many years ago in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, enjoying the full support and blessings of the United States of America as its patron and accomplice.

The policy of deportation, torture of detainees, mass arrests, collective punishments, arbitrary killing of civilians, among them children, and general humiliation and degradation of Palestinians in their daily life is executed by the Israeli authorities in the occupied territories during all these years. The right of privacy of family and home and the right of reunification of the family are not respected in the occupied territories; the rights to opinion, expression, association and peaceful assembly were similarly denied. Israeli restrictions on freedom of the Palestinian press printed in Jerusalem are notorious.

The Palestinian trade unionists have been frequently Jan./Feb., 1984

imprisoned, tortured and forbidden to continue their trade union activities. Even the right to freedom of movement within the occupied territories is subject to the arbitrary will of the occupation authorities. Hundreds were subjected to an administrative order, confining them to their houses, or their towns or villages. The lives of whole communities are frequently affected by prolonged curfews, which have become a usual phenomenon; the Israeli armed settlers are frequently attacking the unarmed Palestinians. The victims are put under curfew, as happened recently in Hebron, while the attackers, actually encouraged and supported by the government, which supplies them their arms, remained unpunished.

the colonisation of the occupied territories, in defiance of the Fourth Geneva Convention, is gaining new momentum, leading to a *de facto* annexation of the Palestinians lands to Israel. According to Dr. Meron Benvenisti (former deputy mayor of Jerusalem) in his interview to *The Jerusalem Post* September 10, 1982, under the title "De Facto Dual Society," more than half of 5.8 millions dunums of West Bank land (outside Jerusalem) is now under Israeli control.

Israel took over the total underground water resources of the occupied territories and is totally controlling ground water sources, suspending permits for digging new water wells and controlling the quantity of water of each well; the result of such a policy is that a large sector of the population is compelled to seek work in Israel as unskilled labourers, with the result that the West Bank has become dependent on Israel even for agricultural products.

The evil practices of the Israeli occupiers are familiar to me due to my work as a lawyer, representing thousands of Palestinians in the occupied territories through all these years.

Deportation

Deportation is strictly and absolutely forbidden by the Fourth Genev Convention (Article 49) and the Universal Declaration (Article 9). Israel has, nevertheless, maintained an open policy of deportation, which has been clearly aimed at depriving the Palestinian population of intelligent and active leadership. Thousands were deported during all these years; the mayors of Hebron and Halhoul, Fahd Qawasmeh, Mohammed Milhem and Sheikh Rajab Tamimi are the most recent victims of this policy, which is strongly condemned by the family of nations and by many peace-loving Israelis.

Maltreatment and Torture

Such practices are prohibited under customary international law, as codified in numerous international documents, including the Universal Declaration (Article 5), the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the Fourth Geneva Convention. Nevertheless, the use of torture is a common practice by the Israeli investigators. I have seen with my own eyes many victims with torture marks on their bodies.

The last victim of torture whom I have seen and whose torturer was revealed and hopefully will be put on trial was Walid al-Arda, a young teacher from Jenin. He was tortured in order to extact from him a confession that he had inspired and organised "poisoning hysteria" in Arrabeh and Jenin, this spring, which he flatly denied.

Collective Punishment

Collective punishment has become a trademark of the Israeli occupation although it is strictly forbidden by the Hague and Geneva Conventions. In the course of these actions, almost 20,000 homes have been demolished, while thousands of women and children have remained roofless. The other instances of collective punishment are those imposed on whole cities. In the West Bank, curfews lasting from several hours to several weeks affected at least 19 towns, villages and refugee camps.

The refugee camps at Dheisheh, Am'ari and Balata suffered severely from prolonged curfews, during which the authorities were raiding and searching houses and confiscating books, magazines and cassette tapes with national songs. The soldiers were also gathering the men of the camps (from 14-90) to make them stand in the streets during cold nights. Round-ups of Arabs, usually of men and boys, occurred frequently during 1982, usually following an incident of stone-throwing at Israeli military vehicles.

The Palestinian Prisoners

The prisons are overcrowded and cells are dark, sometimes without any fresh air. The prisoners receive insufficient food, suffer from lack of movement and have poor clothing. Medical care is far from satisfactory; because of malnutrition, lack of sun and fresh air and poor conditions of hygiene many prisoners suffer from eye diseases, rheumatism, anemia, hemoorrhoids, weight loss, tooth and gum diseases, ulcers, weakness and nervous disorders. Palestinian prisoners are often punished arbitrarily for singing national songs or even speaking loudly or expressing opinions against the hard prison conditions, by confinement in a narrow solitary cell, by cancelling family visits, walks and many times by beatings and other physical abuses. The prisoners protested against such practices in the prisons of Beer Sheba, Nablus, Nafha and Jenin (by strikes) and now in the women's prison, Neve Tertza.

The greatest shame is the Ansar concentration camp in

South Lebanon, in which thousands of Palestinian and Lebanese prisoners are held in subhuman conditions without any recognized status.

Cultural Attacks

The occupation authorities decided also to wage a cultural struggle against the Palestinians. Hundreds of books, among them classics, are forbidden to be possessed or read in the West Bank and Gaza.

Additionally, the universities, especially Bir Zeit and Najah, have frequently been a target of army attacks and harassments.

Nowadays the practice of free shooting at demonstrators or just "suspects" is continuing and there are newly wounded and dead killed by the settlers and soldiers; the mayor of Hebron was fired and the municipality dissolved, while the recent murderous attack on the Hebron University, which claimed three victims and tens of wounded, constitutes a new peak of the crimes of the occupiers.

There is no rule of law protecting the Palestinians' human rights in the occupied territories, and therefore they are compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression to lead a battle of survival on their lands. The oppressors themselves are responsible for this rebellion and its tragic results because of their stubborn denial of any rights to the Palestinian people, a people whose third generation is growing up in refugee camps, a people who will not surrender. I am now defending the second generation of Palestinians, a fact which is symbolic both for their heroism and continuous suffering.

Thousands are demonstrating in Israel within the ranks of the Peace Now movement and other movements against the atrocities in the occupied territories. Israeli soldiers and officers are testifying about the violations of human rights and warning against it. University professors, students and others are appealing to Israeli public opinion to stop the fascist practices in the occupied territories, declaring that the silent majority is an accomplice to these acts. More than once the poor have demonstrated under the slogan "money for the slums and not for the settlements," on which the government is wasting billions of dollars, eagerly supplied by the US. tempting the Israeli population to settle in the occupied territories by offering them astonishingly cheap "cottages" and villas there, advertising them without even mentioning that they are placed in the occupied territories.

Thousands of Israelis understand now, after the aggression in Lebanon, that Israeli policy is leading to a (Continued on page 21)

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און פאר עמעצן אַן אנדערן — אין פּױלן. און נאָך פאָר עמעצן — אין פּראנקרייך. אין די פארייניקטע שטאטן פון אַמעריקע. אין פּראנעטינע און פאר אייניקע אויך אין ישראל. אַבער דאָס זיינען אועלכע. וואָס זייער גורל. זייער לעכן _פון״ און _ביז״ אין פאָרבונדן בלוין מיט אַט־דעם לאַנד.

דו דארפסט דאך געדענקען, או אין אונדוערע שמועסן דא האבן מיר בע פארשיידענע געלעגנהייטן בארירט אלע אט־די דאזיקע טעמעס אויף פארשיידענע אופנים. און אויב דו פלעגסט ניט שטענדיק און ניט מיט אלץ מסכים זיין מיט מיר. איז דאך, ווי מיר האט זיך געדאכט. עפעט אין דיין נשמה אריינגעפאלן. געשיקט זיך אבער – וואס אוי דיין נשמה אריינגעפאלן. געשיקט זיך אבער – וואס וויסטר. וועפט זיך דאס פון דיר אלץ מער אויסז און ליידער. ניט בלויז דאס אליין.

איך האב דיך געפרעגט, וואס פאר א שייכות עס האבן צו דיר די געשעענישן, וואס קומען לעצטנס פאר אין אייערע מקומות. דו האסט געענטפערט, אז איז די שטעט און אויף די וועגן קאן מען שוין גיין פרע אפילו ביינאכט. קיין פארטיזאנער זיינען גיטא. מער קיין ווארט ניט! דו מאכסט זיך תמעוואטע ? צי דו מיינסט טאקע ערנסט, אז מיך אינטערעסירט מער גארנישט. חוץ צי דו ביסט זיכער מיטן לעבן ? אלדאס איבעריקע גייט ניט אן ? ווייטער זאַגסטו, אָז "פייער איז אין לבנון יאַ געווען״, אָבער אונ־ דזער פרעסע האט צוליב דעם "שוין צופיל געטשאדעט". וויאזוי דארף איך דאס פארשטיין ? מילא, דו ביסט חושד די פרעסע פונעם סאָציאַליסטישן לאָגער. איך קאָן דיר אבער זאגן, אז כ׳לייען רעגולער ניט בלויז "פראוודא״ אדטר איזוועסטיא" – אויד די וואכנשריפט אזא רובע־ זייאם״ לייען איך, און דארט ווערן פארעפנטלעכט מאַ־ טעריאלן פון דער קאנסערוואטיווער בורזשואזער פרעסע. זי טשאדעט אויד ? און די גאנצע וועלט־פרעסע זאגט א לינו, אז א האלבע שטאט בעירוט עקויסטירט ניט מער ? און עס איז שקר וכזב, אז ישראל מיליטער האט דער־ הרגטט טויזנטער קינדער, פרויעז, אלטע לייט, פאלעסטי־ נער און ליבאנער ?

יא. איך האב טאקע געפרעגט דיך וועגן דיין מאטע־ ריעלער לאגע. אבער כ׳האב זיך ניט געריכט צו דערהאלטן

people in exile to return to their homeland or to receive indemnities, according to their own choice, in conformity with UN Resolution 194 (III) of 1948, which is binding upon Israel as a member state of the United Nations.

16 years of the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza show clearly that there can be no security and protection for the Palestinians except by themselves alone, on their soil, exercising their legitimate right of independence.

פון דיר אלס ענטפער שיר ניט א גאנצן מדריך לעולה . דער רעקלאמע־פראספעקט פארנעמט מער פון א האלבן בריוו. אווי או דו האסט אפילו ניט געענטפערט אויף מיינע אנדערע פראגן.

דערלויב מיר אָבער דיר דערמאַנען וועגן אייניקע אַלגעמיין באַוואוסטע זאָכן. למשל, וועגן דעם, או דער ישראדיקער אויסערלעכער מדינה חוב האָט באטראָפן צו סוף פונעם 1982 יאָר אַאַינגאַנצן״ 20 מיליאָר 300 מיליאָן געבריקאַנער דאָלאָר. דאָס איז ניט רעכענענדיק אַלערליי נוד חון פארשיידענע יידישע (ריכטיקער צייניסטישע) ווי אויך דאָס געווער, וואָס די מדינה באָקומט אויף צו פירן און ניט־ידישע אָרגאַניזאַציעס און פּריוואָטע פּערואַנען רענדלעך שפרינגען ניט אָראָפ פֿועט האיר געט זיקער איני רענדלען שפרינגען ניט אָראָפ פֿועט האיר געט איני גענדען ניט אָן ווער עס איז דער גוטער פעטער, וואָס גיט די דאָזיקע מחמונים. פאָר וועלכע מען קאָן שוין מסתמא קויפן ניט אין ארידישראל זאון פארוואָס איז ער אזוי גוט. דער רייכער פעטער ?

און ווייטער שרייבסטו וועגן דעם דאזיקן רייכן פע-טער דיינעם. וועגן די פארייניקטע שטאטן. אז דאס איז א צענטער פון דער וועלט־קולטור. איך וויל ניט דער-נידעריקן אמעריקע און אירע קולטורעלע און וויסנשאפט-לעך־טעכנישע דערגרייכונגען. אבער צי זיינען שוין אויף דער וועלט ניט פאראן אויך אנדערע און לכל הפחות ניט ווייניקער וויכטיקע קולטורעלע צענטערס ? און דו ביסט געבוירן און אויפגעוואָקסן געוואָרן אין א פינצטער קול-טורלאָז לאָנד ?

איך לייען דיינע בריוו און זע, ווי דו ווערסט וואס אמאל קלענער און איינגעשרומפענער אלס פערזענלעכקייט. יא, דו האסט זיך שטארק געענדערט און ביסט אין דיין יעצטן בריוו גארניט דער, מיט וועמען איך פלעג וויציק ארומריידן פראבלעמען פון ליטעראטור, געשיכטע און וועלט־פאליטיק. און דאס. וואס דו האסט זיך אליין מודה געווען, אז דו לייענסט איצט כמעט גארניט, טוט מיך שטארק וויי. גאר א שלעכטער סימן!

וואס זשע וועט זיין מיט דיר ווייטער, קליינער מענטש?

(5) מדרך לעולה --- אַ פראָספּעקט־ביכעלע פאַר נייע עולים.

catastrophe and that there will be no peace unless the Palestinian people are granted their legitimate rights to establish a sovereign state in the territories occupied by Israel in 1967, alongside Israel.

The right to self-determination of the Palestinian people includes the principle that the future of the Palestinian people can only be decided with their full participation in all efforts through their sole representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization; the right to selfdetermination includes the right of the Palestinian Jan./Feb., 1984

ווייטער שרייבסטו, אז דו האסט שטענדיק געהאט ינאָסטאַלגיע נאָך געשיכטע״. דעם אמת גערעדט, פאַרשטיי איך ניט, מיט וואָס עס איז אָרױסגערופן דיין נאָסטאַלגיע. אין מיין פריוואַטער ביבליאָטעק זיינען דאָ צענדליקער ביכער וועגן יידישער געשיכטע. ווען איך לייען זיי, קומט מיר אופין זינען, אַז כדי פאָרנעמען זיך מיט ערנסטער וויסנשאַפטלעך־פאָרשערישער אַרבעט אין אָט־דעם געביט. דארף מען אָנקומען נים אין אַ פּעדאַגאָגישן אינסטיטוט. ווי דו האסט עם געטאן, נאר פארן קיין מאסקווע אדער קיין לענינגראָד און דאָרט. אינעם אוניווערסיטעט. לערנען ניט בלויז געשיכטע, נאָר אַ גאַנצן קאָמפּלעקס וויסנשאַפטן — אריענטאליסטיק. איינער פון זיינע באשטאנדטיילן — דאָס איז בע אַ צענדליק שפּראַכן, אַזעלכע ווי העברעאיש, מאָאוויטיש. אַקאָדיש. אַראַמעאיש, אָראַביש... און דערצו נאָך דאָרף מען אומבאַדינגט קענען כאָטש דרש אייראָפּע־ אישע הויפט־שפראַכן. אויף עברית זאָגט מען: אין דבר העומד בפני הרצון 8, אבער דו האסט. דאכט זיך, ניט זייער ליב געהאט קנעלן. און זינט מיר קענען זיך -- פופצן יאר -- האסטו ניט אויסגעלערנט אפילו קיין איין שפראך.

אָדער אפשר ווילסטו מיט דיין "געשיכטע־נאסטאָלגיע" זאָגן, אַז דאַ "אין גלות", האסטו ניט געהאָט און ניט גע־ פּלט קיין פּאַרבונדנקייט מיט דער געשיכטע פון דיין פּאַלק: דאָן זאָג איד זיך אָפַ צו פּאַרשטיין דיך – ניט ווייל איך וויל ניט, נאָר ווייל איך קאן ניט. איך האָב קיינ־ מאַל ניט געפילט קיין אָפּגעריסנקייט – פּאַרקערט. איך פיל זייער שאַרף מיין פאַרבינדונג טַב מיט דער רוסישער און סַיַ מיט דער יידישער געשיכטע.

דו האָסט געזען אין מיין ביבליאָטעק אַלטע ביכער און ספרים. די גרעסטע מערהייט פון זיי איז געשאפן גע־ ווארן ניט אין ארץ־ישראל, בלויז תנ״ך (און דאָס אויך ניט אינגאנצן) און משנה זיינען ארץ־ישראלדיק. אלדאס אי־ בעריקע איז געשאַפן געוואָרן אין בבל. אין אַלעקסאַנדריע, קיירואַן, פעס, טאָלעדאָ, אין איטאַליע, פראַנקרייך, דייטש־ לאַנד, פּױלן און רוסלאַנד. אַפּילו אין דער קיעווער רוס איז שוין געווען א למדן. רב משה פון קיעוו. די ריזיקע געביידע פון דעם יידישן וויסן איז אויפגעשטעלט געוואָרן אין דער דיאַספּאָרע. און פונדאַנען האָט אין משך פון כמעט צוויי טויזנט יאָר אויף דער גאַנצער וועלם געשיינט יידישע דיכטונג. פילאָסאָפיע, תורה און חכמה. און אין צפת אָדער אין ירושלים האָט יאָרהונדערטער לאַנג געהערשט דער אָבסקוראַנטישער גייסט פון קבלה מעשיות (פראַקטישע קבלה). די מיסטיקער־מקובלים האָבן געאַרבעט מעשים. פרואוונדיק צאפן וויין פון שטיינער און פליען אויף א טיכעלע אין דער לופטן. אין די לעצטע פינף הונדערט יאָר גייט יידישע וויסנשאַפט, ליטעראַטור און קולטור ארוים אויםשליםלעך פון פוילן און רוסלאנד.

איד וואלט געקאנט דיר אנרופן צענדליקער נעמען פון למדנים. רבנים. שרייבער. געלערנטע. וואס פיל. גאר פיל פון זיי זיינען געפאלן קרבנות פון אלערליי רציחות. געווארן קדושים. אבער ניט מבייש געווען זייער וויסן, דיער קולטור. איד וואלט געקאנט דיר אנרופן הונערטער זיער קולטור. איד וואלט געקאנט דיר אנרופן הונערטער מען און ווערק. דו קענטט אבער סימוו ניט די דאויקע נע מען און ווערק. וועל איד אנדערש זאגן. די אריסטאקראטן לעגן פירן זייערע גענעאלאגיעס. און די יידישע למדנים האבן ליב געהאט צונויפשטעלן רשימות פון זייערע פאר-האבן ליב געהאט צונויפשטעלן רשימות פון זייערע פאר גייער אינעם לערנען – ווער ביי וועמען האט זיך געלערנט. אז ארשימה רופט זיך אן שלשלת הקבלה – די קייט פון אן אריבעריים. אנגעהויבן פון דעם פופצנטן יאהונדערט אריון, פון יעקב פאלאקן און יעקב מרגליותן פון נירנ-בערג. דאס איז א מהלך פון מער ווי פינף הונדערט יאר...

און וואס איז שוין צו ריידן וועגן דער נייער און נינס־ טער קולטור! אלע גרויסע שרייבער, דיכטער, אלע יידישע געלערנטע, ליטעראטור־ און קונסט־פארשער שטאמען דאך אדער פון רוסלאנד, אדער פון פוילן.

און איצט זאג מיר על־פי שכל און על־פי נשמה וואס דארף מיך נענטער פארבינדן מיםן פאלק און מים זיין געשיכטע – אויסגעטריקנטע וואלגער־שטיינער פון דעם כחל מערבי. וואס זיינען טאקע עדות פון פיל היס טארישע געשעענישן. אבער עדות שטומע און פאסיות, אדער די דאזיקע קולטור־ווערטן. ביכער און ספרים. שא-גאלס און לעוויטאנס בילדער, עדות אייביק לעבעדיקע. ניינדנדיקע און פלאקערנדיקע מיטן דערהויבענעם פייער פון מענטשלעכן גייסט. וואס דערנערט פון קינדהייט אן מיין נשמה ?

אָבער די זעלבע ביכער און ספרים זיינען דאָך פאַראָן אין ישראל אויך. — וועסטו זאָגן. זיי זיינען כמעט די זעלבע, און דאָך... ווען איך נעם אין די הענט מיינע אַלטע ביכער. וואָס אויף זייעויע טאַוולען, שמוץ־טיטלען, שערבלעטער און מאָרגינעסן האָבן פריערדיקע לייענער איבערגעלאזט זייערע באמערקונגען, אויפשריפטן און - חתימות. און מיין חתימה שטייט צווישן זיי די לעצטע דאָס נעמט מיך דורך דער לעבעדיקער גייסט פון דער געשיכטע, און איך פיל בפועל ממש. ווי זי נעמט מיך פאר דער האַנט און שליסט מיך איין אין דער אומענדלעכער קייט פון דורות, וואָס דער אָנהייב אירער ווערט פאַרלאָרן אין דער פרעהיסטאָרישער ווייַט פון די צייטן, נאך פאָר ארץ־ישראל און אַפּילו פאַר ארץ כנען - צייטן, וועלכע זיינען שוין פון אונדזערע חכמים טראדיציאנעל באצייכנט געוואָרן מיט די ווערטער "משה קבל תורה מסיני ... דאָס איז דער אָנהייב. די ווייטערדיקע און די היינטיקע רינגען פון דער קייט זיינען פאר מיר – אין רוסלאנד.

³⁾ אין דבר העומד בפני הרצון -- קיין שום זאר וועט ניט ווידערשטיין דעם גרויטן ווילן.

⁴⁾ משה קבל תורה מסיני – משה האט באַקומען די תורה פון סיני (אבות א׳).

נסיונות. אַלע אויספרואוון. איבערטראָגן אָלע שוועריקייטן אין דער פרעמד...

איצט שרייבסטו אַבער, אַז אין רוסלאַנד האָסטו גאָר נישט וואָס צו דערמאָנען מיט גוטן, אָבער גלייכצייטיק זאָגסטו, אַז די פּדיינט וועסטו קיינמאָל ניט פּאָרגעסן, אַ דאַנק דיר אין היטל פּאָר אָזאַ קעגנשטעלונג! שיין, ניטאָ וואָס צו זאָגן! און וואָס דען זיינען מיר אַלע – איך, מיין רייזעלע, צענדליקער אַנדערע דיינע גוטע פריינט און באַקאַסע. – אויב ניט אַ טייל פון רוסלאַנד ?

איך וויל דיר ניט דרעשן דעם מוח מיט זאכן, וואס זיינען באוואוסט יעדן איינעם און דיר בתוכם: אז דו האסט זיך דא אומזיסט. אן שכר־לימוד. געלערנט אין א מיטליטול. און אינעם אינסטיטט האט מען דיר אַפּילו גע־ געבן סטיפענדיע: אז דו האסט דא ניט געהאט וואס מורא צו האבן פאר ארבעטסלאזיקייט: אז דירה־געלט איז בע אונדז נידעריקער ווי וואו־עס־איז אין דער וועלט: אז מעדיצינישע בארינוגג איז בע אונדו אן אומזיסטע. וכדומה אועלכע הקלייניקייטןד. – ס׳וואלט ניט געשאט צו גע־ דענקען זיי אויך.

אָבער רוסלאַנד איז ניט בלויז אַ מלוכה, אין וועלכער עט איז פאָרגעקומען די גרעסטע סאָציאַלע רעוואָלוציע. דער סאוועטן־פאַרבאַנד האָט געראַטעוועט די וועלט פון דער פאשיסטישער מגיפה. ער בויט היינט־צו־טאג די יושרדיקסטע געזעלשאַפט און איז אַ וועגווייזער פאָר אַלע פעלקער, פאר אַלע פאָרגעשריטענע מענטשן אין דער וועלט. און טייער איז מיר רוסלאַנד ווייט ניט בלויז דער־ מיט. וואס זיין געזעלשאַפטלעכע אָרדענונג און רעגירונג גיט מיר געזיכערטע רעכט אויף בילדונג, וואוין־אָרט, אָרבעט. אָפרו און נאָך צענדליקער רעכט, פאָרשריבענע אין אונדוער קאָנסטיטוציע. און אויך ווייט ניט בלויז לאנדשאפט און שיינע נאטור איז רוסלאנד, מיט אירע וועלדער. סטעפעס, אַזערעס, בערג, מיט דער וואָלגע און מיט די זשיגולי. מיטן צאַפּלדיקן פרילינג, מילדן זומער, רייכן הארבסט און פרעכטיקן ווינטער ; און די היים, דאס פאטערלאנד איז ווייט ניט דאָס אָרט, וואו איך בין צופעליק געבוירן געווארן. רוסלאנד, פאטערלאנד - דאס איז אי דאָס ערשטע, אי דאָס צווייטע, אי דאָס דריטע אין אונדזער לעבן. און נאך פיל־פיל מערער.

איך בין א בירגער פון סאוועטן־פארבאנד לויט מיין געבורט און פאליטישער דערציונג. א רוסישער מענטש לויטן אפשטאם. א יידישער קולטור־טוער און שרייבער. דאס איז גיט גלאט א רעזולטאט פון געוויסע. אין א בא ישטימטער מאס צופעליקע פיזישע בארינגונגען. דאס זיינען דרע גייסטיקע יסודות פון מיין פערוענלעכקייט. און זיי זיינען אזוי צונויפגעבונדן און צוזאמענגעשמאלצן און זיי. זאו אומעגלעך אפצורייסן איינע פון דער אַנדערער. דאס איז אַ געוועב פון צענדליקער. הונדערטער און טויזנטער דינסטע נשמה־פערים. אומועבארע. אַבער גאַנין ממשותריקע און אומצערייסבארע. און אז זיי זיינען

ניטא – בין איך ניטא. און זיי. די דאזיקע פעדים, פאר־ בינדן מיך – דאס ״פּינטעלע רוסלאנד״ – מיט טויונטער, מיט אן א צאל אנזערע ״פּינטעלעך רוסלאנד״.

פינטעלעך", "פינטעלעך"... וויפל זיינען זיי ו מיין "פינטעלער", מאַמע, וועלכע האָט, נאָך איידער איך בין געבוירן געוואָרן. געקעמפט אין דער מלחמה פאר דעם. או כ׳ואָל לעבן אין פרידן. מיין זיידע, וואָס האָט מיר באַוויזן, וויאַזוי פון אַלע מעגלעכע קוואַלן אַרױסבאקומען קענטענישן און לאָגיש דענקען. מיין באָבע, וועלכע האָט געוואוסט איינצופלאַנצן אין מיר ליבע צו דער נאטור. צו אלץ וואס לעבט, און אויך צוגעפירט מיך צום ים פון דער פרעכטיקער רוסישער פאָעזיע. מיינע שול־לערער, וואס יעדערער פון זיי האָט מיר געעפנט די יסודות פון זיין וויסנשאַפט. איך זאָל פאר־ שטיין, וואו איך האַלט אין דער וועלט, און אויסוויילן פאָר זיך אין דער צוקונפט אַ באַשעפטיקונג לויט מיינע נייגונ־ גען, און וואס אַלע צוזאַמען האָבן זיי געלערנט מיך צו זיין אַ מענטש. מיין אַלטער באַקאַנטער, דער ייד, וועלכער האָט מיט מיר געלערנט חומש, געעפנט פאר מיר אן אוצר פון תורה, וואו צווישן הויפנס אַלטע, אָפּגעניצטע, צעבראָכענע כלים. -- אוראלטע און מיטלאלטערלעכע אבערגלויבענישן. דינים און פארבאטן - האָט ער געוואוסט צו געפינען מנורות פון מענטשלעכער חכמה און אייביקע מאָראַלישע ווערטן. אַראָן יאַקאָוולעוויטש פּלאָמפּער, וואָס האָט מיך דער ערשטער באַקאַנט מיט דער קלאַסישער אוז סאָווע־ טישער יידישער ליטעראטור און קולטור. מיינע פראפע־ סאָרן און חברים פונעם אינסטיטוט. וואו כ׳האָב געשאָרפט און געשליפן מיין מוח אויף די לעקציעס. סעמינארן און דיסקוסיעס. דער אויסטערלישער יידישער דיכטער מאָטל גרוביאן, וועלכער האט מיך ממש פאר דער האנט אריינ־ געפירט אין דער סאוועטישער יידישער ליטעראטור, גע־ ציטערט איבער מיר, ווי איבער אַן אייגענעם זון, איך זאָל ווערן אַן אמתער פּאָעט מיט מיין אייגנאָרטיקן קינסט־ לערישן און אידייאיש קלאָרן און שטאַנדהאַפטיקן פּאָליטישן פרצוף־פּנים. מיינע איצטיקע חברים־שרייבער, וואָס באַ־ ציען זיך מיט פאַרשטענדעניש און טאָלעראַנץ צו די ספע־ ציפישע שטריכן פון מיין קינסטלערישן געדאַנקען־גאַנג, האַלטנדיק מים רעכט. אַז ״יאָק ניע ריידעלע. טאָ ריידעלע, אבי דאברע מיינעלע"... ס׳איז דען מעגלעך אלעמען איבעררעכענען ? און די אַלע "פּינטעלעך" אינגאַנצן גע נומען שטעלן צוזאַמען דאָס גרויסע, וואָס הייסט רוסלאַנד. ... צוויי הונדערט פינף און זעכציק מיליאן "פינטעלעך" און אַפילו דו -- דו ביסט אויך דאָס אַמאָליקע קליינע פּינטעלע רוסלאַנד״, אַ פאַרשטױסנס, אַ באַגראָבנס, ביז "פּינטעלע אוסלאַנד״, צו ווערן אַ "גלות־פּינטעלע״. דאָס איז צו זען פון דיין בענקשאפט, וועלכע רייסט זיך דורך נישט בלויז

אין דיינע פריערדיקע בריוו, נאָר אַפּילו אין דעם סאַמע

לעצטן, און וויפל דו זאָלסט אין אים ניט קנייפן זיך דאָס

בעקעלע. די פאַרב זאָל שטיין, וועסטו דיין בענקשאַפט

און וויי ניט אויסבאָהאַלטן.

Jan./Feb., 1984

יידישע ענינים

אַ בּריוו קיין ישראל

פון א רוסיש-יידישן שרייכער צו א פארבלאנדזשעטן יידיש-סאָוועטישן שרייכער

פון אלעקסאנדער בעלאוסאוו

אַלעקסאַנדער בעלאַוסאַוו שרייבט וועגן זיך: ... איך בין א בירגער פון סאָוועטן־פאָרבאַנד לויט מיין געבורט און פּאָליטישער דערציאונג, א רוסישער מענטש לויט אָפּשטאָס, אַ יידישער קולטור־טוער און שרייבער וועמען דער אַלטער באַקאַנטער דער ייד אַראָן פּלאָמפער האָט מיך דער ערשטער באַקאַנט מיט דער קלאָסישער און סאוועטישער יידישער ליטער ראַטור און קולטור און דער אויסטערלישער יידישער דיכטער מאָטל גרוביאָן האָט מיך פאָר דער האַנט אַריינגעפירט אין דער סאָוועטישיידישער ליטע־ האָט מיך פאַר דער האַנט אַריינגעפירט אין דער סאָוועטיש־ידישער ליטע־ ראַטור, געציטערט איבער מיר ווי איבער אַן אייגענעס זון.



אלעקסאנדער כעלאוסאוו

לחברי ללבי שלום וברכה י.

ס׳איז מיר עפעס קשה. איז דיינע לעצטע בריוו. איך לייען זיי איבער צו עטלעכע מאל – און כ׳קאן זיך ניט באפרייען פון דעם איינדרוק. אז ניט דו האסט זיי געשריבן. גיט יענער מענטש. וועלכער איז מיט א יאר פיר צוריק צום לעצטן מאל געזעסן בײַ מיר אין שטוב. אויס־ געפרעגט בײַ מיר פרטים פון פארשיידענע רעליגיעזע דינים אין שייכות מיט דער פראנע. ווער עס איז א ייד. און שפעטער געשריבן מיר לאנגע אויספירלעכע בריוו. אמאל טרויכע אבער אַלעמאַל אינטהאַלטסרייכע און מענטש־. לעכע ...

יאָ. פונקט אַזוי, ווי דו, דערמאָן איך זיך אויך אָפט אין אונדזערע לאַנגע, ביז שפעט אין דער נאַכט, שמועסן ביים ניט איבעריקס רייכן, דאָך גאָסטטריינטלעכן טיש. בשעת אונדזערע געשפרעכן פלעגן מיר אייינקוקן אין די ביכער־ שאַפעס, פילע מיט זאָמלונגען לידער און מיט פראזע־ ווערק, מיט ספרים און ביכער אויף אַלערליי ליטערארישע. היסטארישע און פילאָסאָפּישע טעמעס. און מיר פלעגן זיך נאָך די געשפרעכן אויפהייבן פונעם טיש ניט מיט אַנגע־ שטאָפטע בייכער, נאָר מיט אַנגעזעטיקטע געמיטער.

איך דערמאן זיך אויך און כילייען אפט איבער דיינע איך דערמאן זיך אויך און כילייען אפט איבער דיינע ערשטע בריוו. פולע מיט אויפגעבראַכטקייט און צארן אויף יענע ״עולים חדשים״ ג, די מיטפאָרער דיינע. וואָס זייער

גרעסטע און איינציקע זארג איז געוועז. צי מען וועט זיי דערלויבן ארויספירן זייער גאלד און זילבער, קרישטאל און פארצעליי. זייערע מעבל און די טעפיכער, זייערע קיינמאל ניט געלייענטע ביבליאטעקן. אסט דעמלט אפילו געזאגט. או פון צווען דאס אלץ קאן מען ממש ווערן אן די מישטיינס־געזאגט אשרייבער״ און געזעלשאפטלעכע־ רי מישטיינס־געזאגט אשרייבער״ און געזעלשאפטלעכע־ טוער״, וועלכע גיסן צעבערס שמוץ אויפן סאוועטן־פאר־ באנד. בשעת זייער גאַנצע אידיעאָלאַגיע״ באשטייט בלויז באנז, בשעת זייער גאַנצע אידיעאָלאָגיע״ באשטייט בלויז זיך געפריט טראַכטנדיק: ווער־ווער, נאָר דו וועסט בלייבן אַ מענטש אויך דאַרטן.

איד דערמאן זיך אין דיינע בריוו. וואו דו בענקסט נאך דיין געבורט־שטעטל; נאך דער גאס. א פארוואקסעי גער מיט קראפעווע בעי די פלויטן. נאך די שכנים. וואס פלעגן קומען צו אייבי אין שטוב קוקן דעם טעלעוויזאר, נאך מעלט נאך דעם איינציקן אינעם גאנצן קווארטאל; נאך דיינע חברים. נאך דער קולטור־סביבה פון שרייבער, פא-עטן. זשורנאליסטן. היסטאריקער: נאך דער רוסישער עטן. זשורנאליסטן. היסטאריקער: נאך דער רוסישער עטן. זוערנע האט געקלונגען ארום דיר אינדעפאקטן שפראך. וועלכע האט געקלונגען ארום דיר אינדעפאקטן טראמונען... אין איין בריוו האט זיך אפילו דורכגעשמוגלט טראמונען... אין איין בריוו האט זיך אפילו דורכגעשמוגלט דאס ווארט "גענים. אינוע בריון האט זיך אפינע פולגעפאקטן ביסט געגאנגען דערויף מיט דיין אייגענעם ווילן. אבער ביסט געגאנגען דערויף מיט דיין אייגענעם ווילן. אבער דעראינערונגען וועלן העלפן מיין פריינט אויסהאלטן אלע

צו מיין חבר, דעם טייערן פאַר מיין האַרצן, -- שלום און ברכה,